

The Catholic's Part in Reconstruction

GEORGE DALY, C.S.S.R.,

A Speech Delivered in the Assembly Hall of the Knights of Columbus, St. John, N. B., December 22, 1918.

THE heavy clouds of war and the bloody mist of battles are lifting; once more the sun of peace bursts forth triumphant over a sad and weary world. The storm has wasted its fury; the landscape is washed clear and bright, the atmosphere is glowing and transparent; destruction and ruins everywhere stand out in sharp and ghastly relief. On the distant horizon, beyond the Rhine, the dark clouds drag their tattered shreds; the angry lightning still flashes and thunder yet rumbles yonder—on German and Russian soil.

The war is over. The muddy trench, the deadly shrapnel, the perfidious gas, the roaring cannon, the forced marches on the slimy roads of Flanders, the heroic dashes and agonizing retreats of struggling armies, the lurking submarines, the treacherous, owlsh zeppelins, the long-protracted vigil on the deep—all these grim realities of four, long, endless years have melted away in the blaze of a glorious victory. Now the German Armada rides at anchor, prisoner, in British waters, the armies of the Allies bivouac on the banks of the Rhine, and our Canadian boys, flushed with victory, come marching home.

The day of the German surrender, Clemenceau, Premier of France, made this significant statement: "Great have been the problems of the war, but greater will be the problems of peace." Nations, indeed, now face one of the most momentous periods of history. Never, we believe, have such tremendous responsibilities weighed upon a passing generation. The handwriting is on the wall, and our economic and social life, foreign to Christian morality, has been found wanting. Will a new and better social order rise from the ashes of this world-conflagration? There is the searching problem which

presses itself upon the mind of every thinking man. "On every side," writes Father Plater, S.J., "there is talk of reconstruction, economic, political, social, educational. Government departments are hard at work gathering information, elaborating schemes. Numerous organized bodies, such as the Labor party, are putting forward their programs. Conferences and lectures on reconstruction are multiplied and literature on the subject pours from the press." Reconstruction! This is now the world's watch-word. It sums up the various problems with which nations will have to grapple in every realm of human activity. It speaks of conditions that are no more and suggests new outlines of the social order.

Canada, after having bravely and generously solved the problems of war, is now also facing "the greater problems of peace." This period of reconstruction, more than that of the war, will test our national fiber. The strain will be greater for the conflict is being lifted to a higher plane, that of ideas. But nowhere in Canada will this vast work of readjustment be more tangible than in our great West. The youth of that part of the country, and the dominating factors of the national problem will, we believe, make the West the classical land of reconstruction. A gradual evolution will bring our Eastern Provinces to readjust themselves to the changing conditions of political and economic life. The West, on the contrary, has in such matters the beautiful qualities, the unlimited resources of youth, but also its dangerous shortcomings. Daring, venturesome, over-confident in democracy, the Western mind is easily and frequently hasty and radical in its conclusions. It has not been matured by time, that great teacher of patience and moderation; experience has not, as yet, tempered that feverish and progressive youthfulness, so prone to speedy and often drastic legislation. And as legislation is in the minds of the Western people the panacea of all evils in society, will not the common tendency be to carry on the work of reconstruction by parliament bills and orders-in-council? Is there not here a great danger? "The danger of premature commitment is much greater than that of a more cautious policy, proving a stumbling block in the way of future progress."

Moreover the most vital factors of reconstruction in Canada will affect more particularly the Prairie Provinces. "The back-to-the-land movement, demobilization, settlement of returned soldiers on the farm, intensive immigration policy, extensive agricultural production."

The choice of the Hon. J. A. Calder of Saskatchewan, as chairman of the Reconstruction Committee in the Federal Cabinet; the prominent part given to him and to the Hon. Mr. Meighen of Manitoba, in the formation and discussion of plans at the recent meeting of the Premiers of the Provinces; these are in themselves pungent illustrations of our contention in the matter.

Although the West will, in the period of reconstruction, command the attention of the country at large, there are, nevertheless, problems, particularly those affecting our social and economic life, which will weigh heavily on our Eastern Provinces, so reconstruction will be a nation-wide work.

THE DUTY OF CATHOLICS.

What is, therefore, the duty of Catholics, at the present hour? Are we to fold our arms and let others rebuild the very framework of society according to plans which our faith, reason and history disapprove of and very often condemn? Our ideas in the matter may not prevail, but how would we be justified in deploring the consequences of a legislation which we did not even try by our influence to suppress or modify? To abstain as Catholics from this great work of reconstruction is profoundly un-Catholic. It is the act of a traitor to the Church and country.

The Church depends upon her children to spread the beneficial influence of her social doctrines. "The great work of the Catholics, after the war, will be," said Father McNabb, O.P., "to bring the vision of the Bride of Christ, the Catholic Church, before the millions of our countrymen." "These countrymen of ours are blind and often bigoted," adds Henry Somerville.

There are Catholics who make this Protestant blindness and consequent bigotry an excuse for every kind of damnable selfishness and narrowness on the part of Catholics themselves, for neglect to share in the nation's work, for refusal to cooperate

in patriotic, civic and social undertaking as if they were none of our business. The nation's business is our business. If we serve the nation efficiently, we serve the Church. We take the best means to open the eyes of our fellow-countrymen to the fact that Catholicism is not uncivic. If we make ourselves valued, anti-Catholic prejudice will be dispelled.

Cardinal Bourne, in his letter on "Social Reform" speaks very pointedly of the duty of every Catholic in this matter:

The nation's business is our business. The true love of country demands from Catholics at this critical stage of our history, to throw all their energies into the various social activities. Society throughout the world is shaken in its very foundations. The universal interest in the political, social and economic spheres is a decided mark of the birth-throes of a new social order. Therefore, we will conclude with Cardinal Gibbons, "The Church cannot remain an isolated factor in the nation. The Catholic Church possesses spiritual and moral resources which are at the command of the nation in every crisis."

The reform or remodeling of the social fabric, if it is to be effective and abiding, must ultimately rest on the definite and unchanging principles of morality. These principles constitute the moral law, as the physical principles are the basis of the physical law. Ernest Fayle, in a very instructive article on "Reconstruction," in the October number of the London *Quarterly Review*, makes a statement very pertinent to this matter: "The economic, political and social factors in human life are so inextricably entangled that if we accept quality of life and not mere power or wealth as the touch-stone of national success we dare not, even in the consideration of economic or political questions, lose sight of the moral issues."

The Catholic Church has always been the teacher and guardian of that natural moral law which stands as the foundation and buttress of the social edifice. In the light of Catholic teaching, moral laws are definite and unchanging, for they are the deliberate expression of the necessary and fundamental relations upon which rests human nature. They are the living, free expression of man's place in creation. The most elaborate schemes and powerful organizations are soulless without these basic principles of morality and have but an ephemeral existence.

Is it not, therefore, a great act of patriotism to try to throw into the scales of the nation's destinies the mighty weight of indestructible and tried principles? True statesmen have always recognized the influence of the Catholic Church's doctrine in social matters, although they may not believe in the truth of her teachings. They always looked upon her principles of social life as the ballast that steadies the ship on heaving seas. To make the Church a spiritual ally, to recognize her moral power and her far-reaching influence has always been considered good diplomacy and clear-sighted statesmanship.

CATHOLICS' PATRIOTISM IN PUBLIC LIFE.

Reconstruction is the great work of the hour; co-operation is a duty every Catholic owes to Church and country; what definite and concrete form of cooperation will that responsibility assume? There is the problem. Our first duty, in the matter, lies, we believe, in a greater participation in public life. Too long have we stood aloof from movements that aim at the social welfare of the community. A false timidity and an erroneous conception of our responsibilities have estranged us, to a great extent, from the various activities of national life. This isolation has been most prejudicial to our Catholic laity, for it has fostered in their ranks disinterestedness and often apathy.

Too long have Catholics lived in isolation, allowing others to think and act for them. It is indeed, high time that they felt the pulse of life that beats in the real statesman, as distinct from the mere politician. Duty demands that Catholics add their power of intellect and will to the similar power of other citizens anxious to help the commonwealth. We are not aliens in this land, not aliens by birth or principle. As to the latter I may say with all truth that no one has given clearer expression to the basic principles of democracy than the Catholic theologians, Suarez and Bellarmine. (R. H. Tierney, S.J., Editor of *America*, at the Catholic Federation meeting, Brooklyn, September 15, 1918.)

This attitude of aloofness during the coming period of reconstruction especially, would be profoundly un-Catholic. Our active participation in public life will give us occasion to dispel prejudice, offset subversive doctrines, advocate in spite of failures and bigotry the prin-

ciples of Christian sociology. We are firm believers in the prevailing strength of ideas. They are indestructible; they rule sooner or later. They may take time to crystallize into convictions, but the force of mental gravitation must ultimately prevail.

The Catholics of England give us, in this matter as in many others, a beautiful example to follow. During the war they formed a "British Catholic Information Society," having at its service "the Catholic War News Office." The result of their aggressive policy is the public recognition of the value of the Catholic Church by the English people in the national work of reconstruction. I would here refer you to Father Plater's letter on "Catholics and Reconstruction" for further details in this interesting matter. Like our Catholic brothers of England, let us also take our place boldly in the broad daylight of public life. We have ideas to give to the nation, let us give them. The sun of Canadian liberty is surely shining for our doctrines as it does for the subversive theories of State-Socialism. We have no apology to make for our ideas. They stand on their own merits and have been vindicated by the great acid-test of time.

THE CATHOLIC SOLUTION.

In season and out of season, in the press and on the platform, in private gatherings and public meetings, through every medium of social control, let the people hear the Catholic solution of the problems now facing the nations of the world. We have a message to deliver. That message, if it comes to the people shining like a steel blade, sounding like the blare of a trumpet, if it wells up from a fiery heart and drops from burning lips—that message will be heard. In this period of strain and suffering the public mind is keyed to its highest pitch, ready to snap at any moment. "In war time," says E. H. Griggs, "there is a curious paradox of widening radicalism of thought, with constantly decreasing freedom of action and expression. When the discrepancy becomes too great, you have the explosion—revolution." Therefore in this time of intellectual ferment, the continued affirmation of truth, the persistent state-

ment of principles, is in itself a highly valuable service, which we are bound to do the world.

Participation in public life develops conviction; conviction repeatedly asserts itself; continued assertion creates opinion; and public opinion is without doubt one of the most universal powers at work in the world. In every sphere of life you can feel the constant pressure of this tremendous influence. It may well be named the "current" of public opinion. Draining to its profit the latent and loitering powers of the individual thinker, silently, irresistibly it moves on; checked, it becomes an angry whirlpool of confused and gyrating waters; harnessed to the wheels of national life, it will transform its energies into light, heat and power.

The creation and the spreading of Catholic opinion in social matters should be in our mind, the ultimate goal of our activities, for it is the greatest asset we can contribute to the vast work of reconstruction.

Time, you readily understand, Ladies and Gentlemen, will not allow me to dwell upon the various problems which reconstruction will bring before the country. Our aim, now, is rather to awaken the sense of responsibility, stir the sleeping conscience into watchfulness, and give to our Catholic men and women the stimulating thought of cooperation. Our country is being re-created in its political, social and economic life; to be a living factor in that "re-creation" is the duty of the hour.

Before leaving you, Ladies and Gentlemen, allow me to signal out to your attention the leading questions. They will be as landmarks planted to guide you on the way. In the international order, the problem of resetting nations on a new basis by a "just and durable peace" now faces the world. Racial and language problems command our attention in the national order. In the political world ideas are to be readjusted as to the nature, powers and obligations of the State. Of late, the monopoly of the State has been asserting itself so strongly that one is led to believe that the old pagan principle of the supremacy of the State will once more reign supreme. When nations have ceased to give to God what belongs to God, they give to Caesar alone what belongs to Caesar and what belongs to God.

The social order will witness demobilization and immigration. Who cannot grasp the importance of these great problems with their various and intricate issues? The greatest transformations are, perhaps, reserved to the economic order; capital and labor, efficient and greater production of industry and agriculture, the living wage, and uplifting of the workingman's status, etc. In the educational order the battle will be greater for there is a great tendency to centralize, to federalize education under the plea of "national schools."

The religious order will see a tremendous effort for union among the various non-Catholic denominations; "social service" will be their center of unity, the common field of action.

Various and numerous, as you see, Ladies and Gentlemen, are the problems that confront us in the realms of human activity. Now, bear in mind, the Catholic doctrine has a solution for each problem and it is your duty to give it. Knights of Columbus, as you helped the Church to solve the problems of the war, so will you also help to solve the greater problems of peace. If you wish to be the body-guard of the Church, your mission is to lend your noble and generous efforts to your spiritual leaders in this great work of reconstruction.

One last thought, Ladies and Gentlemen, before closing this already lengthy address. Since the coming of Christ and the establishment of His Church on earth the principles of His teaching are for all times and for all nations. The sun of truth has its meridian in Rome, on the rock of Peter. There it stands at its zenith, in the permanent blaze of a perennial mid-day; there it sets the time for the Catholic world and the ever-changing and conflicting problems of human history. *Stat Crux dum volvitur orbis.*

The Mexican Archbishops' Defense

A Letter Written to Their Vicars-General.

IN the grave crisis through which we are passing it is but right and proper that the Catholic people should learn, with all possible exactness, the principles which have determined our actions and the ends to which they were directed; so that, secure in this knowledge, they may not interpret them differently from our view or give their assent to any other interpretation which might be put upon them. For this reason we are writing to you, Very Reverend Vicars, the present letter, which you may publish whenever the circumstances seem favorable.

The principles which have guided us are chiefly the following: 1. The character of our mission and of our authority is purely and absolutely religious. To us it was intrusted to preserve intact the teachings of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; to conserve in the souls of men the life which He brought upon earth, and to maintain, in its entirety, the social organization which the same Divine Saviour gave to His Church in order that it might tend to both of the ends indicated.

2. The effort which we must put forth to attain what we have stated above is not ours alone but devolves equally, each in his own way, on the clergy and people; for the cause is common to all, since, under the Supreme Pontiff, we form the body of the Church; and, consequently, all her interests are common to us. If the Bishops and priests are held to preserve the purity of the Faith, transmitting it as we teach it to them; if we must preserve and favor the Christian life by means of Divine worship, the Sacraments and our preaching, it follows that the Faithful must practise this same life, and to this end, as atoms of a body are united among themselves, that they and we should be united so as to conserve this organization, created by Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Indeed, so strict are these obligations that we should be prepared to give our lives rather than disregard them.

3. Although it is a truth never to be doubted that the Church is the work of God and its rights are derived from the same source, it is equally certain, and not to be called in doubt, that what it has with respect to civil society, without losing its Divine origin, engenders also inviolability in the human conscience; that is, the right of man to religious liberty, for the State can never enter, with its authority, into the sanctuary of conscience, legislating on religion.

4. The Church does not fear persecution although she never provokes it. Thus, if any government whatsoever, despising the right of religious liberty, should take this away from Catholics, they can—and, indeed, should, if it relates to an established government—subject themselves to such laws *passively*, as we say, that is, without according intellectual and voluntary adhesion to such precepts, but always protesting and showing clearly that they are only yielding to brute force and not to any right, and licitly perform certain prescribed acts which are not contrary to conscience. But if those acts be contrary to it, they must not execute them although they be compelled to suffer grave penalties on account of refusal. This, then, neither more nor less, does passive resistance mean. And thus it is that in every case the obligation is incumbent and the right maintained by all in States of a representative form of government to work, by all legitimate means, to recover the liberty which has been taken from them.

HOW THE BISHOPS ACTED.

Conformably, then, to these principles, the efforts of the Bishops and priests as leaders and directors in a Christian community should confine themselves to the conservation and defense of religious interests, not working in this alone either, but doing it also with the co-operation of the Faithful who are subject to them in all that pertains to religion. Now, then, the manner and form of civil authority, the persons exercising it, the way in which it is exerted and all other things pertaining to it do not effect religious interests in any way, since they concern only the political order. Wherefore, although Bishops and priests as men and citizens may be

and really are often in sympathy with a determined political party or person, it may never be proper for them to use their sacred character or authority in this sphere of action. But it is quite another matter where religious liberty is concerned. As its very name indicates, not only is this essential to religious interests, but it is one, and a very essential one, of them. Therefore, the action of the Bishops should embrace the defense at all times of this liberty so full and perfect in itself, accentuating it to this end since the rights of man are not yet denied the title of sacred, which in reality they hold, and using fearlessly but without provoking persecution, the means their authority affords them.

Those are of two classes. First, to teach Catholics that with which they cannot comply without sin in the imposed laws, to exhort them, warn them, strengthen them, so that they may go through everything before failing in their duty; and, added to this, to incline them to the exercise of their liberty, prudently, of course, but with resolution. Secondly, to teach them the obligation they are under to the Church and the right they have in the State to recover by all legitimate means religious liberty.

Let our actions, fortunately reflected in public documents, be examined, and it will be found that all of them were patterned on these principles. The laws dictated by the party actually in power in Mexico contravene Catholic dogma and morals; they attempt to subvert the Hierarchy of the Church; they impede religious instruction; they put obstacles in the way of public worship; they despoil the Catholic people of the goods with which the churches, the clergy, the schools and the colleges are supported; they are severely hostile to the priests; they have closed the temples, and in many other ways have violated religious liberty.

We ourselves have denounced them as they are and shall continue to teach the contrary to what they oblige. Not to excite persecution, we have consented to the priests and people submitting to them as far as they can do so without committing sin, though we have always instructed them and shall continue to instruct them not

to give intellectual or voluntary consent to those laws but to take all legitimate means within their reach to have their own rights and ours respected. We have never been premature in our declarations, protests and orders; in every case our action has followed the attacks of our adversaries. Therefore, it must be patent to anyone who studies our attitude for a moment that it has been limited to the defense of religious liberty and what pertains to it, moderately, and without using anything but proper means and desiring nothing but that Catholics may recover the liberty of which they have been deprived.

THE BISHOPS NOT AGITATORS.

Doubtlessly, our conduct has been interpreted altogether differently from this, and without any reason, as we shall explain. To the great unrest, which from various causes exists in the Republic, there has been superadded the great injustice which Catholics—the great mass of the people—feel on account of being deprived of religious liberty, and the attacks of laws and legislators upon their religion. In every State which has imposed what we cannot assent to, we have of course refused our assent, and consequently, our people must have recourse to whatever means seem best to them to get rid of their disabilities. Because of this the party in power today has circulated the report that we are disturbers and agitators and that we meddle in politics. On the other hand, the wound inflicted upon their religious sensibilities being so acute, the entire mass of the nation is disturbed, and, suffering in this way, many have thought that our action was not so prompt, general or practical as it should be to place the reins of government in other hands so that other paths than those followed by the rulers of today might be entered upon.

Neither the one nor the other of these courses is the right one. The clergy do not enter the political arena (although a different impression has long existed) when they preach the truths of religion which the laws deny, or denounce violations of religious liberty done through them, or point out what just and proper means should be adopted in order that such laws may be abrogated not only in the interest of Catholics, but also of all other

men similarly situated. Nevertheless, if we and our priests by our conduct should so arouse religious feeling that it be converted into political passion, we would be entering upon a dangerous path and abusing our sacred ministry. The truth, then, is that, reduced as we have been and still are to purely episcopal action, we are only concerned with religious interests, feeling sure that thus we may be able to conserve a progressive element against the day of peace, and also safeguards and counsels in these days of trial through which we are passing, and perhaps more bitter ones still to come. Catholics are citizens of the Republic; to vindicate liberty of conscience is to them a duty and an honor. For us Bishops in this regard we may repeat again what we have said so often before: The Church asks nothing but liberty.

These, then, Very Reverend Vicars, have been the principles and norms of our episcopal acts which have never, we fully believe, overstepped the bounds of right and justice or exceeded the limits of prudence in any particular, even when we ran the risk of being misunderstood, for in times as difficult as these it is oftener more difficult to find out one's duty than to do it. Please God, then, that this declaration may dispel the illusion of outsiders and also any which may have arisen in the minds of our own people.

With this motive in view, dearly beloved Vicars-General, we renew the expression of our high consideration.

Given, this first day of November, 1918.

- ✦ MARTIN, Archbishop of Yucatan.
- ✦ LEOPOLD, Archbishop of Michocan.
- ✦ FRANCIS, Archbishop of Linares.
- ✦ FRANCIS, Archbishop of Durango.
- ✦ FRANCIS, Archbishop of Guadalajara.

The Church's Condition in Mexico

The United Memorial of the Mexican Archbishops.

THE undersigned Mexican Archbishops, gathered in this city for the purpose of deliberating once more on the pressing needs of the Catholic Church in Mexico, have decided to make the following explanatory statements. In taking this action, they have a double end in view, namely, to direct the action of both the Catholic clergy and people of Mexico along safe paths, and to bring to the knowledge of all persons interested in the welfare of Mexico the fundamental bases on which solely religious peace can be grounded, if an organic peace is to be attained at all in Mexico, a victim of the ravages of revolution for the last seven years.

In the collective protest drawn up by the Mexican Bishops against the new Constitution promulgated at Queretaro on February 5, 1917, the undersigned lamented the fact that, far from relenting in its endeavor to put fetters to the free exercise of the Catholic religion, which has been constantly done ever since 1857, the Constituent Assembly has only forged new chains, and chains so heavy that their like are not found anywhere else in the civilized world. Here are a few instances: Absolute prohibition to teach religion, even in private schools. Confiscation of all churches, not even excepting those which are private property. Complete closing of a great many churches. Subjection of the clergy to the State in religious matters. The denial of all personality to the Church. Power granted even to inferior authorities to meddle in religious matters. It is evident that the last measure involves a constant danger of persecution, the form of which alone changes to suit the whims and passions of the local authorities.

Notwithstanding the fact that the above-mentioned protest merited the special approbation of our Holy Father, the Pope, and that it was greeted with great favor both at home and abroad, even by many Mexican Liberals, who could not fail to recognize its justness and who pronounced it only too mild considering the enorm-

ity of the offences. Nevertheless, the actual rulers of the country not minding in the least this general condemnation, have sought in the protest a pretext and an excuse for committing new offences. They have readily availed themselves of the faculties granted them by the Constitution to enact State laws and municipal regulations more and more oppressive.

Thus, for instance, in Jalisco, the number of priests is limited to one for every 5,000 Faithful. The priests are to be listed in special registers, so as to keep them subject to an odious fiscalization. In Yucatan it is decreed that no more than six priests shall be authorized to remain in that whole vast diocese, and the time allowed for worship in the few churches left open is arbitrarily limited. The offerings of the Faithful for ministerial services are to be filed by the authorities, and half the amount collected must remain in the municipal treasury. Far more drastic regulations have been enforced in Sonora, where no priest at all was allowed to remain. Not religion alone, but industry, commerce, agriculture and all the social classes as well are the victims of prevailing anarchy.

THE TERMS OF RELIGIOUS PEACE.

Realizing then that a situation so desperate cannot last indefinitely without endangering the independence of the fatherland, and also that a permanent organic peace is impossible, if religious liberty be not previously guaranteed and safeguarded, the undersigned, both as Prelates of the Church and as citizens who love the independence and prosperity of their country, wish to express in most concise and clear words the terms on which, it seems to them, religious peace should be based:

(1) Ever since 1867, when religious unity in Mexico was dissolved, the Bishops have not pretended, neither do they pretend today to renew the old union of Church and State; they do not claim any special privilege either, as they are falsely and maliciously supposed to do, but they do demand full religious liberty, such as exists in the United States of North America, in Canada, in Australia, in Cuba, Brazil, Holland and in other democratic nations. Hence they demand: (a) Liberty to impart instruction, primary, superior and professional, without any inter-

ference of the Government, save in the way of ascertaining the capacity of the candidates for the exercise of a profession. On its part, the Government in imparting public instruction, must not attack any religious creed. (b) Full liberty of associations for any religious purpose whatever. (c) The legal ability of all religious associations to own and manage their churches and other buildings and property, in the same manner as any other corporation having a juridical personality. (d) No limitation of either the civil or the political rights of a person, because of the religion he professes. (e) The enjoyment of civil and political rights by priests as well as all other citizens. (f) Immunity from Federal or from State enactments in matters of purely religious nature.

(2) The devolution of all the churches, episcopal residences, parish houses, seminaries, colleges, schools, museums, libraries, laboratories, vestments and sacred vessels, paintings and all other real estate and movables, wrested from the Catholic clergy and people since the year 1913.

(3) In order to safeguard these rights, it is absolutely necessary to have the laws which abridge those rights abrogated by legal means, whether the Constitution of 1857 be restored to full force or another Constitution is put in its place.

In testimony thereof the undersigned have written the present act, of which five copies shall be made, to wit: one for each subscriber, and that they have also agreed to publish the said act, when it shall seem convenient, and further that they have duly commissioned the Most Reverend Archbishop of Michoacan to ask and accept the explicit adhesion to same of the two absent Archbishops of Mexico.

Given at Chicago, in the State of Illinois in the United States of America, this 12th days of November, A. D., 1918.

This memorial was signed by the Archbishops of Yucatan, Michoacan, Durango, Linares and Guadalajara.

✠ LEOPOLD RUIZ,
Arch. of Michoacan.

Ireland and the Peace Conference

From the "Manchester Guardian."

Let it be realized at once that it will be entirely impossible to exclude the question of Ireland from the purview of the Peace Conference. There will be a demand of course—it has been made already—for direct representation of Ireland by the Irish and the Conference. It will, no doubt, be refused.

Yet, after all, Ireland may put forward a claim no less worthy of attention than that, say, of the Czechoslovaks or of the Jugo-Slavs, whose case will occupy the very serious attention of the Conference and whose spokesmen will presumably be heard.

No doubt it will be said that Parliament, and not the Peace Conference, is the tribunal to which Nationalist Ireland should carry her griefs; that it is a purely domestic matter with which nobody but ourselves is competent to deal, and that any attempt to take it out of hands and bring external opinion, let alone external action, to bear would be instantly and uncompromisingly resisted.

The answer to this is that Ireland has been appealing to Parliament for generations, and her representatives even allege that not only has the oft-promised measure of freedom been dashed from Ireland's lips, but that nothing has been done to help her and satisfy a claim long since admitted to be just, but that the Prime Minister, who is ultimately responsible for all that happens or does not happen in Ireland, was once known as a friend of Irish freedom as of the freedom of other small nations, but that no word or help or release comes from him; that, on the contrary, whereas in the old days his political opponents lashed Ireland with whips, he attempted and is even now threatening to lash her with scorpions, and that in all England no effective voice is raised in protest on her behalf.

There is at this moment a more rigorous repressive regime in force in Ireland than there was in the palmiest days of Mr. Balfour's Irish administration and the twenty years of resolute government. How is it possible in the eyes of the world and of the Peace Conference to draw

any line of distinction between the case of Ireland and the case of other subject nationalities? There has been infinite reluctance on the part of this country to recognize that there is such a thing as Irish nationality.

Yet there it is staring us in the face as it stood through all her history, and justly demanding with insistence, recognition and remedy. True it is, no doubt, that the question is not simple, that there are two Irelands, and that their claims clash. Of what other subject nationality cannot the same thing be said? Of which of the half-dozen or dozen small peoples whose claims the Peace Conference will be called upon to adjust is it not also true that they contain within them separate and dissenting elements?

In all these cases adjustments will have to be made, compromises arranged, securities given. Why is the case of Ireland to be accorded something more than securities and the fairest possible treatment? Why is it to be permitted forever to bar the way to peace?

We do not know whether the problem is too hard for the present Government. Possibly the reason why its policy has appeared to develop on the side of violence and appeasement, is that the will or the power for the second of those policies is lacking, and that the Government—or the predominant forces within it—have consciously or unconsciously sought to cover this dreadful defeat and failure by a course which substitutes force for policy, and is reckless of liberty and reckless of blood.

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